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A Political Declaration for Reversing Verdicts and Restoring the Old Order

- Comment on "On the General Program for All Work of the Whole Party and the Whole Country"

by

Feng Lei (冯雷)

(Pei-ching Ta-hsüeh Hsüeh-pao /Peking University Journal/, Philosophy and Social Sciences Edition, No. 4, September 1, 1976)

When the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts was blowing furiously last year, the arch unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party Teng Hsiao-p'ing instructed his subordinates to dish out "On the General Program for All Work of the Whole Party and the Whole Country" (that is "On the General Program"). This program incorporates all the speeches made by Teng Hsiao-p'ing in 1975 that embody the ultra-Rightist essence of his counter-revolutionary revisionist line. Apart from preaching the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link" and peddling the fallacy of the dying out of class struggle and the theory of productive forces, "On the General Program" negates taking class struggle as the key link, opposes the Party's basic program, alters the Party's basic line and aims the spearhead at the great leader Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and attacks Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line from all sides. It serves as Teng Hsiao-p'ing's political declaration for reversing the decisions of and settling old scores with the great cultural revolution and restoring capitalism.

"On the General Program" declares: "It is necessary to take the three directives as the key link, sum up all the rich experience since the start of the great proletarian cultural revolution, formulate specific policies for various kinds of work, and use this general program and specific policies to guide and regulate work in various spheres."

Since the 9th and 10th Party Congresses have already made scientific summations of the great cultural revolution, is there any relevance in another "summation" of the great cultural revolution made by "On the General Program" in "taking the three directives as the key link"? Isn't that an attempt to reverse the decisions of the great cultural revolution?

Chairman Mao has laid down a Marxist-Leninist line for us. He has formulated a series of specific policies for carrying out this line. Yet "On the General Program," apart from embracing "taking the three directives as the key link," "lays down specific policies for all work" so as to "regulate" and "guide" everything. If this is not an attempt to restore capitalism, what else is it? Very obviously, "On the General Program" projects a blueprint for the restoration of capitalism and nothing else.

The great proletarian cultural revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao smashed the bourgeois headquarters commanded by Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, criticized their counter-revolutionary revisionist line and recaptured part of the leadership power of the Party and the state usurped

by them. This ensured that our country would advance along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, contributing in theory and in practice to the resolution of the vital question of the international communist movement, that is, consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevention of capitalist restoration.

Chairman Mao pointed out: "The great proletarian cultural revolution was in essence a major political revolution under socialism, in which the proletariat opposed the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes." "The main point of this revolution is to purge those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road."

Chairman Mao has recently pointed out: "You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party -- those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road." The ten years since the great cultural revolution represent the ten years of struggle against the capitalist roaders in the Party. The main experience gained from the great cultural revolution has been the experience in the struggle against the capitalist roaders in the Party.

"On the General Program" states it intends to "sum up" the "experience" of the great cultural revolution, without mentioning Chairman Mao's series of scientific theses relating to the necessity of launching the great cultural revolution and defining its character, target and tasks, and omitting in particular the main target of the revolution, the capitalist roaders in the Party. "On the General Program" instead vilifies the struggle to oppose the capitalist roaders in the Party during the great cultural revolution, saying it is wrong to "bring down" "the Party's good cadres." The great cultural revolution, in Teng Hsiao-p'ing's words, has "hurt" "experienced cadres," who should be "restored to their former positions" in line with the practice of "implementing the policy."

With ulterior motives, "On the General Program" at the same time refers to the so-called "anti-Marxist class enemies" as the main target of the revolution, asserting arrogantly: "We should dare to struggle against the anti-Marxist class enemies," "overpowering and toppling them" and "recapturing the leadership power usurped by them." It also identifies "this struggle as the concentrated expression of the present struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines."

Who are the so-called "anti-Marxist class enemies"? According to their logic, this refers to the proletarian revolutionaries who resolutely carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and bravely struggle against the capitalist roaders in the Party. This is to aim the spearhead at the great leader Chairman Mao and at the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao.

On the one hand, "On the General Program" openly denies that the main target of the revolution is the capitalist roaders in the Party and airs the grievances of those capitalist roaders who were "struck down" during the great cultural revolution, in an attempt to restore them to their former positions. On the other hand, it identifies the so-called "anti-Marxist

class enemies" as the main point of struggle and clamors for their removal. This is a negation of the theory and practice of the great cultural revolution on cardinal issues.

The great proletarian cultural revolution came upon the form of "openly and in an all-round way arousing, from bottom to top, the broad masses to expose our dark side." This is to set the masses in their hundreds of millions in motion, mobilizing them to hold high the banner of "rebelling against the reactionaries is justified," carrying forward the revolutionary spirit of "going against the tide," and unmasking and repudiating the capitalist roaders in the Party and smashing their restoration conspiracies by employing "big contending, big blooming, putting up big-character posters and holding big debates" as weapons.

With ulterior motives, "On the General Program" observes that "a profound lesson drawn" from the great cultural revoluton is to make a "class analysis" of "rising in rebellion," "going against the tide," "big contending, big blooming, putting up big-character posters and holding big debates." It quotes Chairman Mao as saying: "Rebelling against the reactionaries is justified." It also says, "Going against the tide is a Marxist-Leninist principle."

When we talk about "rebellion" we mean rebelling against the capitalist roaders in the Party and rebelling against revisionism. What we mean by "going against the tide" refers to stemming the adverse current of practicing revisionism and restoring capitalism. The same also applies in the case of criticizing Teng and repulsing the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. This should be quite clear as far as the proletariat is concerned. As regard "big contending, big blooming, putting up big-character posters and holding big debates," these weapons are useful to the proletariat. The broad masses want revolution while the capitalist roaders are only a handful and they are bereft of truth and the masses. The revolutionary people hail the "four big" (big contending, big blooming, putting up big-character posters and holding big debates) and only the capitalist roaders are mortally afraid of and bitterly hate the "four big," because they are most unpopular among the people.

In the early stages of the great cultural revolution, Liu Shao-ch'i, Teng Hsiao-p'ing and their gang drew up rules and regulations under various pretexts to oppose the masses making use of the "four big." This is a case in point. Following the great cultural revolution, these have become "most useful new weapons" "for extensive application" now and in the future. The "General Program" calls for making a "class analysis" as a means of urging the broad masses of the people to reject the revolutionary spirit of "rebelling against the reactionaries is justified" and "going against the tide" and discard the "four big" weapons in waging struggles against the capitalist roaders so the bourgeoisie in the Party could restore capitalism without a hitch.

In dishing out the "General Program," Teng Hsiao-p'ing alleged: "Forget about those problems brought up during the great cultural revolution. Don't think about them or mention them. My memory is poor and I've forgotten all." Then, why does the "General Program" call for another "summation"

of the great cultural revolution on the basis of "taking the three directives as the key link"? Isn't this most contradictory? In reality, it isn't. After making the above analysis, we can clearly see that his "forgetting everything" allegation is tantamount to completely obliterating the great cultural revolution in both theory and practice, without forgetting to reverse the decisions of and settle old scores with the great cultural revolution and restore capitalism.

Reversing verdicts is to practice restoration. At the very outset the "General Program" proposes achieving the general objective of developing the national economy within this century by revolving all work around "taking the three directives as the key link" and around the "four modernizations." In doing so, the "General Program" drops class struggle, the key link, does away with the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and blurs the major objective of communism. This is a flagrant negation of taking class struggle as the key link, opposition to the Party's basic program and alteration of the Party's basic line. Clearly, the purpose of achieving the "four modernizations," as indicated in the "General Program," is to push the revisionist line and restore capitalism.

In order to restore capitalism, the "General Program" also calls for "taking the three directives as the key link" and "formulating specific policies for all kinds of work" so as to "regulate work in various spheres." "Some Problems Concerning Scientific and Technological Work" (that is, "An Outline Report") and "Some Problems on Accelerating the Development of Industries" (that is, "Regulations for Industry"), prepared on Teng Hsiao-p'ing's instructions, are two sinister examples. They are all derived from those who follow the "General Program," being an exemplification of the concrete application of the "General Program" in the sphere of science and technology and on the industrial front. These two very poisonous weeds provide the "General Program" with very good footnotes and in a more "concrete" way reveal its sinister motives of restoring capitalism.

Under the guise of "striving to make clear the specific line laid down by the Chairman for the scientific and technological front," "An Outline Report" negates Chairman Mao's line on scientific research, alters the Party policy of uniting, educating and transforming the intellectuals, opposes the proletariat exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, and peddles a revisionist line on scientific research. It is a living example of restoring capitalism in scientific and technological circles.

The "Regulations for Industry" frenziedly opposes the "Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company" and preaches the economic thinking of the slavish comprador class. It introduces a whole set of revisionist measures for running enterprises in a vain attempt to alter the character of our socialist enterprises. In the name of "accelerating the development of industries," it is in fact aimed at expediting capitalist restoration through drawing up regulations for the control of industries. These two teaching materials by negative example attach particular importance to the word "reverse" -- that is, first, "reversing" the allegedly "dark and dreary" situation in the country since the start of the great cultural revolution;

and, second, opposing taking class struggle as the key link, preaching "taking the three directives as the key link," and "reversing" Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and policies and then twisting them round into becoming the revisionist line and policies; and third, "reversing" socialism back to capitalism.

Referring to "An Outline Report," Teng Hsiao-p'ing said: "This document is very important. It controls not only the academy of sciences but is also applicable to the whole field of science and technology, as well as the educational circles and other departments." They vainly tried to "open a big breach" in the sphere of science and technology and then "spread out all the way" to the superstructure and carry out capitalist restoration activities there.

While "Regulations for Industry" is about regulating the industries, it is in reality aimed at paving the way for what is called rectification of agriculture, communications and transportation, finance, trade and in fact the entire economic field. "An Outline Report" and "Regulations for Industry," dished out on Teng Hsiao-p'ing's instructions, are intended to spearhead the restoration of capitalism. The "General Program" preaches "taking the three directives as the key link" and carries out "all-round rectification" according to the sinister specimen provided by "An Outline Report" and "Regulations for Industry." Isn't this an all-round attempt to counter-attack in retaliation and restore capitalism?

The revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link" serves as a sinister ensign openly flaunted by Teng Hsiao-p'ing to reverse verdicts and practice restoration. The "General Program" is his declaration for achieving these objectives. Rallying round the sinister ensign of "taking the three directives as the key link" have been those unrepentant capitalist roaders who are dissatisfied and want to settle old scores with the great cultural revolution, as well as vicious counter-revolutionary elements who put up posters at Tienanmen Square. It is these people that have been engaged in verdict-reversing and restorationist activities in a big way according to the tune called in the "General Program," shouting reactionary slogans and using the same language adopted in the "General Program."

The "General Program" calls for the overthrow of the "anti-Marxist class enemies" while the handful of counter-revolutionary elements clamored for the overthrow of those "scholars who have emasculated Marxism-Leninism." The "General Program" proposes taking the "four modernizations" as the general objective of the whole Party and the people of the whole country, urging that all work should revolve around the "four modernizations." The unrepentant capitalist roaders shouted: "History calls upon us to advance toward the four modernizations." Failing to achieve the "four modernizations," "we will all be finished someday." The handful of class enemies who caused trouble at Tienanmen Square also ranted: "On the day the four modernizations is achieved, we shall celebrate with drinks." What they meant by the realization of the "four modernizations" referred to the day capitalism would be restored.

Facts have fully proved that the "General Program" represents a concentrated expression of the interests and aspirations of all verdict-reversing, score-settling and restorationist groups, with the crucial point boiling down to reversing the decisions of and settling old scores with the great cultural revolution, and restoring capitalism.

"Reversing verdicts goes against the will of the people." The conspiracy to restore capitalism will never be successful. The concocters of the "General Program" once said jubilantly, "The publication of the article is like "delivering a blow." But before this "blow" was "delivered," the "General Program" was seized and became evidence of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's attempt to reverse and practice restoration, fully revealing his ferocious features.

We must use Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to completely expose the harmful nature of the "General Program," reveal its fraud and criticize its reactionary nature. We must bring into full play the role of this teaching material by negative example, deepen our criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary line, carry the great struggle to repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts to its completion, and strive to win still greater victories in socialist revolution and construction.

* * *

Two Reactionary Programs Bearing the Same Renegade Features

- Criticizing "On the General Program for All Work of the Whole Party and the Whole Country"

by

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(Pei-ching Ta-hsüeh Hsüeh-pao /Peking University Journal/,
Philosophy and Social Sciences Edition, No. 4, September 1, 1976)

A program "is always a publicly hoisted banner." (Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. III) The "Gotha Program," a sinister ensign flaunted in 1875 by the Lassalleans for the purpose of opposing the proletarian revolution and betraying the dictatorship of the proletariat, is an anti-Marxist revisionist program preaching the Lassallean doctrine. In the same vein, "taking the three directives as the key link" brought up by Teng Hsiao-p'ing in 1975, is a sinister ensign designed to reverse the decisions of and settle old scores with the great cultural revolution and restore capitalism. "On the General Program for All Work of the Whole Party and Whole Country" (that is, "On the General Program"), dished out at his bidding, exemplifies Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary revisionist line. These two reactionary programs, released by coincidence after a lapse of exactly a hundred years, bear striking similarities in terms of questions of principle, approach and the extent of fallacy, except that "On the General Program" is more harmful, deceptive and reactionary than the "Gotha Program." By criticizing "On the General Program" in contrast to the "Gotha Program," we can clearly see that the two reactionary programs bear the same renegade features.

In the first place, both seek to alter the targets of struggle of the proletarian political party, which call for the complete overthrow of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, substitution of the dictatorship of the proletariat for the bourgeois dictatorship, and eventual realization of communism.

The "Gotha Program" on the other hand is full of high-sounding and hollow phrases, such as "a fair distribution of the proceeds of labor" and "relying on state aid in setting up socialist producers' cooperatives," without touching in the least the existing institutions of capitalist society. As Marx pointed out in Critique of the Gotha Program: The whole paragraph, bungled in style and content, "is only there in order to inscribe the Lassallean catchword of the 'undiminished proceeds of labor' as a slogan at the top of the Party banner."

Following in the footsteps of Lassalle, Teng Hsiao-p'ing with ulterior motives incorporates the "four modernizations" into "On the General Program," to serve as the goal for the whole Party and the whole country in the next 25 years. By requiring all kinds of work to revolve around the

"four modernizations," class struggle as the key link, the proletarian revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat as well as the major objective of realizing communism all vanish. This is clearly an attempt to use the "four modernizations" to alter the fundamental task for the whole Party and the people of the whole country and the orientation of advance, move backward, and restore capitalism.

Second, both programs negate the main target of the revolution. While the target of the proletarian revolution is the bourgeoisie, the main point of struggle varies at different revolutionary stages. The German Empire of 1875 was in fact dominated by the aristocratic landed class, which in collusion with the capitalists represented the most backward and reactionary relations of production. By tampering with the Rules of the International Working Men's Association, the "monopoly of the means of labor, that is, the sources of life" was changed into "the instruments of labor are the monopoly of the capitalist class." The "revision" was introduced because Lassalle "attacked only the capitalist class and not the landowners." This means that the "Gotha Program" was released for the purpose of protecting the principal enemies of the German revolution at the time and excluding them from the target of the revolution in order to uphold the dictatorship of the landed and bourgeois classes.

"On the General Program" also inherits this revisionist strategy. During the socialist education movement and the great proletarian cultural revolution, Chairman Mao told the whole Party: "The main point of this movement is to purge those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road." Chairman Mao has recently pointed out: "You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party -- those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road."

These teachings elucidate the changing class relations during the socialist period and point out that the capitalist roaders in the Party are the main danger for restoring capitalism, the main target of the revolution in the socialist period.

"On the General Program," however, makes no mention of the question of struggling against the capitalist roaders. It vainly seeks to protect the principal enemies of the socialist revolution and exclude them from the main target of the revolution, in this way bringing about a capitalist restoration. Furthermore, "On the General Program" takes the offense as defense by fabricating the so-called "anti-Marxist class enemies" concept to create confusion, reverse the general orientation of struggle and aim the spearhead of struggle at the proletarian revolutionaries. How vicious its intention is!

Third, both seek to nullify revolution. Marx long ago argued that the capitalist's exploitation of the surplus value of the workers in capitalist society was one reason why the working class, divested of the means of production, must eliminate the capitalist system of wage labor in order to seek emancipation. The surplus value thesis advanced by Marx thus scientifically reveals the essence of the capitalist system and paved the way for the proletarian revolution.

In the "Gotha Program," however, the Lassalleans talk about such hollow words and phrases as "labor," "society" and the "iron law of wages" to conceal the question of who owns the means of production and to cover up the facts of exploitation of the laborers. Fundamentally speaking, this is to negate the proletarian revolution. The same is true of "On the General Program," concocted at Teng Hsiao-p'ing's bidding.

Speaking of the socialist system, Chairman Mao said: "In short, China belongs to the socialist state. Before liberation she was not much different from capitalism. At present she still practices the eight-grade wage scale, distribution according to work and exchange by means of money and in all this is not much different from the old society. What is different is that the ownership system has changed."

These instructions by Chairman Mao define the basic characteristics of the socialist system as practiced in our country. This has further indicated for us the orientation of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. However, in coming to Chairman Mao's instructions on the study of theory, "On the General Program" leaves aside the main substance of Chairman Mao's instructions on the question of theory, that is, the question of restricting bourgeois rights, without mentioning a word about it. This is to achieve the criminal objective of restoring capitalism by negating the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and protecting the interests of the bourgeoisie in the Party.

The "Gotha Program" and "On the General Program" are two poisonous melons on the same revisionist vine, illustrating that opportunist chieftains inside the Party and their forerunners are derived from the same origin. This also tells us by negative example that the struggle against revisionism and the bourgeoisie in the Party is a protracted and arduous one. We must closely follow Chairman Mao's strategic plans and unswervingly and vigorously carry on the fight, grasping the crucial point, completely discrediting Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary line and carrying the struggle to repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts to its completion.

* * *

Bring Out the Reactionary Essence of What Teng Hsiao-p'ing Calls "Specific Line for the Scientific and Technological Front"

- Comment on "Some Problems on Scientific and Technological Work"

by

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(Pei-ching Ta-hsüeh Hsüeh-pao /Peking University Journal/,
Philosophy and Social Sciences Edition, No. 4, September 1, 1976)

"Some Problems Concerning Scientific and Technological Work" (that is, "An Outline Report"), secretly dished out under the personal supervision of the arch unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party Teng Hsiao-p'ing, serves as an important integral part of his verdict-reversing and restoration activities before and after the summer of last year. This is a rare teaching material by negative example. It exposes Teng Hsiao-p'ing's vain attempt to negate Chairman Mao's line on scientific research, alter the Party's policy for uniting, educating and remolding the intellectuals, reverse the decisions of and settle old scores with the great cultural revolution and oppose the proletariat exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the entire superstructure so he could achieve the criminal objective of restoring capitalism.

Teng Hsiao-p'ing once bluntly declared: "This document is very important. It not only can control the academy of sciences but also is applicable to the whole field of science and technology, the educational circles and other departments." In a vain attempt to "open a big breach" on the scientific and technological front, he could then "spread out" and attack the proletariat. Clearly, the spearhead of "An Outline Report" is aimed at our great leader Chairman Mao, at his revolutionary line and at the great proletarian cultural revolution. We must completely criticize his sinister motives.

"An Outline Report" is a product of the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link," pushed by Teng Hsiao-p'ing on the scientific and technological front. Its theoretical basis is the reactionary theory of productive forces and the fallacy of the dying out of class struggle, with playing the eclectic trick of sophistries as the main approach. Thus "An Outline Report" in essence seeks to "reverse" Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on scientific research to the revisionist line, "reversing" the dictatorship of the proletariat to a bourgeois dictatorship and socialism to capitalism.

The central idea of "An Outline Report" concerns the question of trying to "make clear the question and specific line for the scientific and technological front proposed by the Chairman." The draft of the paper was

revised several times by its concocters, with major changes in this section. In their own words, the alterations are intended to "unify" people's "policy understanding" and their "actions." Under the guise of making clear "the specific line for the scientific and technological front," the revised paper lists six major areas of relationship but reveals nothing about the entire substance of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line on scientific research, an utterly reactionary and deceptive line. Penetratingly analyzing this section of the report, further giving the lie to the reactionary essence of the so-called "specific line for the scientific and technological front" and completely exposing Teng Hsiao-p'ing's sinister attempt to restore capitalism is a matter of prime importance.

Preaching "Science and Technology As the Decisive Factor," Opposing Taking Class Struggle As the Key Link, and Vainly Trying To Reverse the Orientation of Scientific Research

The arch unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party Teng Hsiao-p'ing once emphasized the importance of putting scientific research to the fore. Thereupon, the capitalist roaders in the academy of sciences began to talk about the "common objective" of all work, that is, "advance scientific research;" otherwise, "one day we will all be finished!"

Fully in accord with Teng Hsiao-p'ing's instructions, "An Outline Report" dwells on "the relationship between politics and vocational work" and "the relationship between the struggle for production and scientific experimentation." Under this disguise, it in reality plays the eclectic trick for the purpose of peddling the revisionist trash.

Pretending to favor politics in command of vocational work, "An Outline Report" instead makes no mention of taking class struggle as the key link, nor talks about the Party's basic line and the exercise of all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie on the scientific and technological front. Apart from discussing "taking the three directives as the key link," it vilifies political work as "utopian politics" and "exorbitant taxes and miscellaneous levies" in the sense that it is likely to discourage "scientific and technical personnel from digging into technology, learning foreign languages and reading books about vocational work." It preaches the idea that "if production and science are not advanced, the material basis will not be firm and then the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be consolidated."

While on the surface "An Outline Report" makes reference to the relationship between class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experimentation, in reality it turns upside down the relationship of the three major revolutionary movements and preaches the role of science and technology as "productive forces." It asserts that "scientific research should be in the front so as to promote the development of production."

In placing science and technology above everything else and in a decisive position, "An Outline Report" sets out to negate the commanding role of proletarian politics over vocational work, disavow the need to carry out the socialist revolution from the superstructure to the economic base,

and disclaim the necessity of exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, in this way emasculating Chairman Mao's line on scientific research. Clearly, if Teng Hsiao-p'ing had his way in applying the revisionist line on scientific research, China would certainly slide into the evil capitalist path.

"Productive forces is first and foremost science" serves as a "theoretical basis" for the idea that "science and technology serves as the decisive factor" preached in "An Outline Report." As a matter of fact, this is nothing new, being the thrash peddled long ago by the bourgeoisie, both old and new. Brezhnev once said, "Science is becoming direct productive forces in name and in fact." This is rubbish, pure and simple. As everyone with some knowledge of Marxism knows, "The most powerful productive forces is the revolutionary class itself." (Collected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. IV)

It is true Marxism attaches considerable importance to the role of science and regards science as "a kind of revolutionary force that functions in history." (Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. III)

To preach everywhere the idea that "science and technology serves as the decisive factor," Teng Hsiao-p'ing and his cohorts compiled a list of excerpts quoted out of context from the works of Marx and Engels and from an unpublished Chinese version (first draft) of Marx's An Outline of Critique of Political Economy (Draft), after the fashion of the counter-revolutionary tactics employed by the renegade and traitor Lin Piao and his ilk in compiling "with genius" a list of quotations. Teng Hsiao-p'ing cited a remark made by Marx that "productive forces means science" and alleged that "it is quite necessary that we have a full understanding of this and very important to be in the front ranks within this century." By unscrupulously twisting the quotations from the revolutionary teachers round to serve their own purposes, they only betray their criminal motives of vainly trying to alter the Party's basic line and restore capitalism by donning the cloak of Marxism and peddling the revisionist trash.

Another "theoretical basis" for the allegation that "science and technology serves as the decisive factor" is the need to develop science and technology and identify it as the primary task of the state. "An Outline Report" alleges that "without modern science and technology it will be impossible to modernize industry, agriculture and national defense." Similarly, this is a refurbished version of the stuff embraced by the old and new revisionists.

Back in 1961, the Soviet revisionist Party Constitution stipulates that "accelerating the advance of science and technology to the greatest possible extent is the most important task for all the people...." Brezhnev, the Soviet revisionist chieftain, also ranted: "The question of advancing science and technology at the present stage may be said to have decisive significance." "This determines the resolution of many problems of social development in our country." This exemplifies the language of the renegade of Marxism.

Marxism holds that "the real motive force in history is the revolutionary struggle between classes." (Collected Works of Lenin, Vol. XI) and that "revolution is the locomotive of history" (Collected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. VII). Throughout the historical period of socialism there are classes, class contradictions and class struggle and there is the danger of capitalist restoration, with the bourgeoisie and the capitalist roaders in the Party posing the greatest danger of subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Party is charged with the fundamental task of persisting in taking class struggle as the key link and penetratingly carrying out the socialist revolution from the economic base to the superstructure, putting into effect the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat at the grassroots level and using socialism to defeat capitalism and eventually realizing communism. Departing from the struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, particularly the bourgeoisie inside the Party, the struggle to combat and prevent revisionism and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prating about "science and technology as the decisive factor" and "scientific research should be in the front" is just deception and nothing else.

Marxism has all along maintained that in class society class struggle spurs the development of society while science and technology belongs to definite classes and serves the interests of definite classes. Chairman Mao pointed out: "The United States indeed has access to science and technology but unfortunately they are in the hands of the capitalists and not in the hands of the people for the purpose of carrying out exploitation and oppression at home and aggression and slaughter abroad." ("Goodbye, Stuart Leighton") Marx said, Only the proletarian revolution can "turn science from a tool of class rule into the people's strength." He asserted that "only in a labor republic can science really perform its functions." (Selected Works OF Marx and Engels, Vol. II) Without mentioning a word about revolution, the struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie in the Party, and the socialist orientation, "An Outline Report" places science and technology above everything else, in a decisive position. This is a flagrant betrayal of Marxism-Leninism!

Once the disguise is removed it is not difficult to see that in preaching "science and technology as the decisive factor," "An Outline Report" is utterly absurd in theory and is bound to encourage capitalist restoration in practice. Teng Hsiao-p'ing and his cohorts questioned the nature of "the revisionist line on scientific research" and demanded clarification of this allegation. How hypocritical it is to say there are no 300 taels of silver here! Isn't the stuff they try to peddle a living specimen of the revisionist line on scientific research?

Preaching the Line of Professionals, Divorcing Theory from Reality, and Vainly Trying to Shift Scientific Research onto the Revisionist Track

The road taken by those engaged in scientific research is a question of vital importance related to the orientation and line for scientific research. In a socilaist state of proletarian dictatorship, the laboring people are masters of the country, the main force in the practical aspects of scientific experimentation. Scientific research should rely on the vast numbers of workers, peasants and soldiers, laying stress on conducting scientific research with open

doors and unfolding the mass movement on a big scale. "An Outline Report," however, does everything possible to preach the line for professionals and oppose conducting scientific research with open doors. This is the revisionist stuff completely running counter to Chairman Mao's line on scientific research.

Employing the eclectic tricks of affirming in the abstract but negating in the concrete, "An Outline Report" confuses the false with the true to hoodwink the masses. It approves of the idea of relying on both the professionals and the masses in developing science and technology and calls for "development and enhancement" of both "contingents." As a matter of fact, it is not so. By making a little analysis of "An Outline Report," it will not be difficult to reveal the hideous features of the bourgeois line of promoting professionals they try to push.

"An Outline Report" makes no mention of the workers, peasants and soldiers as the main force in scientific research programs, stressing instead the "backbone role" of the contingent of professionals. While calling for "development" of both contingents, it attaches importance to "reinforcing and strengthening the contingent of professionals" to meet "current urgent needs." Isn't its intention very clear?

It must be pointed out here that the "contingent of professionals" referred to in "An Outline Report" in no way means the superior and professional contingents of both red and expert scientists and technicians based on the principle, laid down by Chairman Mao, of combining the old, the middled aged and the young. Instead, the contingent is made up of a bunch of bourgeois intellectuals who have not been properly reformed. They take the view that the existing contingent of professionals in our country, old-brand intellectuals in the 50-60 age group, should assume "leadership work" and play their part in "contributing ideas, supplementing learning and guiding young people." Those who went abroad for further studies after liberation should be "the main backbone in work" and "employed with a free hand." On the other hand, the vast majority of technical personnel trained in the past 17 years are "young and vigorous, the right period for career-oriented work" so "they can bring into play what they have learned from their professions." They view a number of rebels who dare to struggle against the capitalist roaders as being politically "obsessed with factionalism and inclined toward evil" and call for the need to "strengthen education." As regards those technical personnel trained and promoted from among the workers, peasants and soldiers, they are considered "inadequate in understanding theory of science" and as such "it is dangerous" to train them. This is nothing but an exemplification of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's fallacies that "relying on the workers, peasants and soldiers is relative" and that "as long as we have hundreds of first-rate and second-rate scientists, the development of science and technology will be assured." This will result in "the capitalist roaders assuming leadership, the slavish compradors and authorities becoming the backbone, the rebels stepping aside and the workers, peasants and soldiers making their exit fast." Teng Hsiao-p'ing's criminal aim is to vainly try to turn "the contingent of professionals" into a column for the restoration of capitalism. This is something the workers, peasants and soldiers as well as the vast numbers of scientific and technological workers will never permit Teng Hsiao-p'ing to do.

If it is said "An Outline Report" opposes scientific research by relying on the workers, peasants and soldiers in language couched in veiled terms, then it voices strong objection to conducting scientific research with open doors. "An Outline Report," for instance, disapproves of the slogan of 'undertaking scientific research with open doors." In other words, it favors taking the old road of conducting scientific experimentation behind closed doors. This is in flagrant opposition to integration of theory with practice and integration of scientific research with productive labor, indicating that the criminal objective is to turn the sphere of science and technology into a "jeweled palace in Effland's hills," a bridgehead for restoring capitalism. "Conducting scientific research with open doors" is one of the new socialist things that have emerged since the start of the great proletarian cultural revolution. It is growing sturdily, blossoming and bearing fruits. In vainly trying to restore capitalism "behind closed doors" and "sticking to the post," Teng Hsiao-p'ing's plot will never be successful.

Peddling Slavish Comprador Philosophy and Trailing Behind at a Snail's Pace, Vainly Trying To Turn Socialist China into an Imperialist Lackey

Whether to maintain independence and keep the initiative in our own hands and rely on our own efforts or cling to slavish comprador philosophy and trail behind at a snail's pace is one of the focal points of the struggle between the two lines on scientific research. Chairman Mao teaches us: "Rely mainly on our own efforts while making external assistance subsidiary, break down blind faith, go in for industry, agriculture and technical and cultural revolutions independently, do away with slavishness, bury dogmatism, learn from the good experience of other countries conscientiously and be sure to study their bad experience too, so as to draw lessons from it. This is our line."

Chairman Mao also says, "We should not take the beaten path of other countries in developing technology, trailing behind others at a snail's pace." Many significant achievements made in the field of science and technology in our country, including the successful explosion of atomic and hydrogen bombs, the recovery of the artificial earth satellite, and verficiations of synthetic insulin and its crystalline structure, are the result of implementing Chairman Mao's policy of "maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts." "An Outline Report," however, vilifies the principle of achieving rejuvenation through self-reliance as "keeping to oneself" and "excluding others" and urges us to trail behind the foreigners at a snail's pace.

Teng Hsiao-p'ing prated about the development of industry and called for "the introduction of more advanced foreign technology." He even suggested using China's mineral deposits and natural resources as mortgage. Taking his views as a cue, "An Outline Report" preaches "introduction of advanced technology and advanced equipment from foreign countries," "so we can gain in terms of time and speed." By relying on the revisionist line for science and technology espoused by foreigners instead of relying on the wisdom and strength of the broad masses in our country, they exemplify slavish adherence to foreign practices.

It is indeed true that China is still a developing socialist country. We do not deny that in the sphere of science and technology China has fallen behind the advanced world levels. We have all along advocated scientific and technological exchanges with other countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit and favored the introduction of some necessary technology and equipment. But we should not rely on this alone because our policy is to rely on our own efforts and on the creativity of the whole army and the people of the whole country to achieve "rejuvenation through self-reliance." "The Chinese people aim high and are capable and they will in the not too distant future catch up with and surpass advanced world levels."

"An Outline Report" also describes plagiarizing foreign science and technology as the "doctrine of bringing it to me" as interpreted by Lu Hsün. As a matter of fact, their program has nothing in common with Lu Hsün's doctrine, which embodies the Marxist standpoint and is fully in accord with the idea enunciated by Chairman Mao about "discarding the dross and absorbing the essence." What Teng Hsiao-p'ing calls "a major policy" of "introducing" foreign technology and equipment and "exporting" mineral and natural resources "in huge quantities" is downright national betrayal--a policy no better than picking up the trash in foreign countries and auctioning off the motherland's mineral and natural resources. By putting a premium on outmoded and backward things imported from foreign countries and deprecating and stifling the inventions and innovations introduced by the Chinese people, they only hamper the development of science and technology in our country.

Teng Hsiao-p'ing's bitter resentment of China's independent development of science and technology, his utter contempt for the wisdom of the laboring people, his blind faith in foreign science and technology, and his slavish approach to scientific research can only result in China becoming an imperialist lackey and getting back once again into the status of a colony and a semi-colony.

The above analysis shows that "An Outline Report" merely gives lip service to "making clear Chairman Mao's specific line on science and technology" but in reality negates Chairman Mao's line on scientific research. It instead pushes Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line on scientific research in order to achieve the criminal objective of restoring capitalism.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." "An Outline Report" tells us by negative example that the most essential political characteristic of the capitalist roaders in the Party is to use part of the powers they have usurped to push, from top to bottom, a counter-revolutionary revisionist line. The three phases of their verdict-reversing and restoration activities consist of usurpation of power, alteration of the line and restoration of capitalism. In waging struggles against the capitalist roaders, the most important thing is to resolve the question of line. After Teng Hsiao-p'ing was dismissed from all posts inside and outside the Party, we must also penetratingly criticize his counter-revolutionary revisionist line. Only by doing so can we completely smash his criminal conspiracy of restoring capitalism.

"Beside the sunken ship, a thousand sails pass by; and in front of the withering tree, ten thousand plants turn verdant." We firmly believe that by penetratingly repudiating "An Outline Report," people will further clearly recognize the reactionary essence of what Teng Hsiao-p'ing calls "a specific line for the scientific and technological front." Then Chairman Mao's line on scientific research will be more deeply rooted in the mind of the people, and the scientific and technological undertaking in our country will flourish even more vigorously.

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The Bureaucrat Class and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

- Some understanding gained from studying Chairman Mao's important instructions (Part 4)

by

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The fundamental question for all kinds of revolution is the question of the political power of the state. "The political power is in the hands of which class, and this point decides everything." (Collected Works of Lenin, Vol. 25) After the proletariat's seizure of political power and in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the major issue still lies in the question of the political power of the state is in the hands of which class. How does the proletariat prevent the loss of political power they have seized? How to prevent the state from turning the servants of society into masters of society? How to prevent the bureaucrat class from usurping the power of the Party and the state and from changing the proletarian character of the state? These are important questions confronting the international communist movement of modern times and China's socialist revolution.

In their lifelong revolutionary practice, Marx and Engels continuously exposed the reactionary and hypocritical character of the exploiting classes and of the bourgeois state machinery in particular, as well as of various types of bureaucracy. Bureaucrats, bureaucratism and bureaucracy appear in the wake of the emergence and development of the state. In a society in which the exploiting classes occupy the dominant position, the ruling class invariably wants to foster a large number of bureaucrats so as to maintain the exploiters' exploitation and oppression of the vast numbers of laboring masses. These bureaucrats form a special clique inside the ruling class to administer the state organs. They represent and reflect the interests of the ruling class and serve as a tool for fulfilling the will of the ruling class. Marx and Engels pointed out that even in a most democratic bourgeois republic, the state is virtually ruled by bourgeois bureaucrats and politicians who are a "parasitic excrescence" in bourgeois society. In refuting the opportunists' blind faith in the bourgeois state and their worship and respect of the reactionary bureaucrats, Marx and Engels repeatedly cautioned us: "The working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery, and wield it for its own purposes." (Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. 2) They must use revolutionary violence to smash the state machinery, destroy the bureaucracy, exercise the dictatorship of the proletariat to replace the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and transform the masters of society into the servants of society.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is a tool of the proletariat and the laboring people for oppressing the exploiting classes and "constitutes the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society." (Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. 4) In essence, this new type of state is basically antagonistic to the bureaucrats and bureaucratism. By affirming this basic question, Marx and Engels also pointed out: "After the proletariat's seizure of political power the proletariat's enemies have not been eliminated and the old social organizations have not been abolished," and socialist society is "thus in every respect, economically, morally and intellectually, still stamped with the birthmarks of the old society from whose womb it emerges." (Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. 2 and 3) Therefore, there are the soil and conditions giving rise to bureaucrats and there is the danger of once again turning the state political power, the servants of society, into masters of society. Marx and Engels praised the Paris Commune for overcoming this danger by adopting two important and revolutionary measures: All officials are elected by universal suffrage and are subject to supervision by the masses and to recall at any time; and the abolition of all privileges and allowances in the case of officials, the reduction of the remuneration of all servants of the state to the level of "workmen's wages." Both in theory and in practice, this will be "effective to prevent people from cherishing the notion of becoming officials and getting rich quick." (Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. 2) After the overthrow of the old bureaucrats, these measures will prevent the new bureaucrats from arising anew. Marx's and Engels' brilliant ideas concerning the smashing of the old state machinery and the prevention of the new state machinery from degenerating are the "essential and fundamental things of Marx's treatise of the state," "the highest achievement of Marxism in relation to the question of the state." (Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. 3)

In the era of imperialism and the proletarian revolution, Lenin referred to the fresh experience in class struggle in his efforts to defend, enrich and develop this highest achievement of Marxism in relation to the question of the state. Lenin pointed out that in this new era, the nation's monopoly capitalism had developed rapidly, the bourgeoisie had become utterly reactionary in the political arena, and the bureaucratic-military machinery had grown to gigantic proportions. To smash this machinery was the most urgent and the most immediate problem for the proletarian revolution. Under the banner of Leninism, the October Revolution first of all resolved this basic question.

Lenin made a profound analysis of the complicated relations between revisionism and bureaucracy. Under the dictatorship of the monopoly capitalists and in an attempt to disintegrate the workers' movements, the imperialists tried to use a small portion of the big profits they had made to foster a group of elite workers and trade union bureaucrats. Bending their knees to the imperialists' bureaucratic-military machinery, these revisionists did their best to meet the needs of the monopoly bourgeoisie, advocating "parliamentarism." They alleged that the election of the members of the Social Democratic Party to become members of the bourgeois parliament would mean the start of the proletariat's seizure of political power. They hankered after high positions in the bourgeois parliament, did their best to squeeze in, aspired to be promoted to the rank of ministers from their positions of members of the parliament, so as to creep into the ranks of the bureaucrats. They served as principal replacements of the bourgeois bureaucrats and became their despicable accomplices.

After the proletariat's seizure of political power, the revisionists continued to peddle "parliamentarism." Chiminev, Bukharin and their ilk attempted to change the socialist revolution into "parliamentary" reshuffles and redistribution of official positions and high salaries. They advocated "wedlock between the Soviet Union and the constitutional parliament" so as to change the proletarian political organs into bourgeois bureaucratic organs. Kautsky shouted that "we must have bureaucratic organizations" in socialist society. Lenin said: "Kautsky has not understood at all the difference between bourgeois parliamentarism and proletarian democracy. The former combines democracy (not for the people) with bureaucracy (against the people). The latter will take immediate steps to uproot bureaucracy and will be able to carry out these measures to the end, to the complete abolition of bureaucracy, to the introduction of complete democracy for the people." (Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. 3)

Those revisionists who wished to become high officials but did not want revolution invariably opposed proletarian democracy. Once they seized power they would ride roughshod over the laboring people and behave worse than the old bureaucrats. Under their protection, a number of old officials who had been expelled from the government during the tsarist era once again sprang out, held their party membership cards or wore red collar insignias to sneak into the ranks of red officials. Under their pernicious influence, a number of personnel of state organs sought fame and personal gain, becoming high officials and overlords and gradually degenerating into new bureaucrats. The ringleaders of the revisionist line served as a protective umbrella for the old bureaucrats, as abetters for the new bureaucrats and commanders of the bureaucrat class.

Lenin said: Bureaucrats "enjoy special privileges and form a special stratum before the people." "Bureaucratism subordinates the interests of our cause to the notion of becoming high officials." (Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. 1 and 7) In accordance with the new changes in the class relations and the new characteristics of class struggle, Lenin also pointed out: "At present, our enemies inside our ranks are not capitalists and landlords but speculators and bureaucrats." "The Communist Party members have become bureaucrats. If we say something will destroy us, it's none other than these people." (Collected Works of Lenin, Vols. 28 and 35)

Lenin called upon the proletariat to wage unswerving struggles against bureaucrats and bureaucratism. He taught the cadres of the proletarian state, especially the high-ranking cadres, to become "workers using special 'tools'" so they could be supervised by the masses and share weal and woe with them. (Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. 3) Lenin instructed members of the Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, officials of all committees of the government as well as high-ranking comrades to go to the grassroots levels. The Tenth Congress of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) also adopted the resolution that "it is necessary to gradually implement the system of sending down the personnel who have worked for a long period of time with the Soviet government and the Party, so they can work beside the machine tools and plows. It is also necessary to make arrangements so that their living conditions will be similar to those of the workers and peasants." Lenin attached particular importance to the laboring people's participation in management so that "everyone can exercise supervisory functions." (Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. 3)

In elucidating the revolutionary dialectics of this strategic measure, Lenin said: "This will enable everyone to serve as a 'bureaucrat' for the time being, so no one will become a 'bureaucrat.'" (ibid) Even when he was seriously ill, Lenin was still concerned with the reform measures of the state organs and gave verbal instructions for completing his works How to Reorganize the Worker-Peasant Inspectorate and Rather Do Less But Better Things. He repeatedly reminded the Party and the people of the danger that "there are bureaucrats not only inside the Soviet government organs but also within the Party organs," and "it is necessary to sweep away residues of every description." (Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. 4) He said: "It is necessary for us to go to places where the dictatorship of the state is deeply rooted in order to recruit new manpower," selecting and nurturing men of ability from among the worker-peasant masses, who were young and vigorous communist forces that had been tempered in the civil war and poverty. He also called for the promotion of these new personnel to key leadership positions so as to guarantee the proletarian character of the Party and state.

The Soviet revisionist renegade clique was exactly the kind of dross Lenin wanted to sweep away. They found concentrated expression in the reactionary character of the old bureaucrats, usurped the supreme leadership power of the Party and state, thus causing the bureaucrat class of the Soviet Union to expand drastically and burying the first state of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is an extremely serious lesson drawn from the history of the international communist movement. Harsh facts of class struggle tell us that under the dictatorship of the proletariat, bureaucratism means revisionism and vice versa. Overthrowing the bureaucrat class is one of the basic tasks of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Our great leader Chairman Mao has inherited Marx's and Engels' revolutionary undertaking for opposing bureaucrats and bureaucratism. Chairman Mao's theory and practice concerning continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat have resolved the major question for the international communist movement of modern times--how to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent the bureaucrat class from usurping the power of the Party and state.

In 1964 Brezhnev replaced Khrushchev as the chief representative of the bureaucrat class of the Soviet Union, thus stepping up the fascist dictatorship of the bureaucrats and the monopoly bourgeoisie. The bureaucrat class headed by Liu Shao-ch'i followed in the footsteps of the Soviet revisionist renegade clique, frenziedly undermining the socialist education movement and vainly trying to restore capitalism in China. At the crucial moment in the acute class struggle both at home and abroad, Chairman Mao issued a directive concerning the socialist education movement. He pointed out: "The bureaucrat class on the one side and the working class together with the poor and lower-middle peasants on the other are two classes sharply antagonistic to each other." Chairman Mao further pointed out: "Management itself is a matter of socialist education. If the managerial staff do not join the workers on the shop floor, work, study and live with them and modestly learn one or more skills from them, then they will find themselves locked in acute class struggle with the working class all their lives and in the end are bound to be overthrown as bourgeois by the working class. If they don't learn any technical skills and remain outsiders for a long time, they won't be able to do management well either. Those in the dark are in no position to light the way for others."

Chairman Mao also stated: "Those leading cadres who are taking the capitalist road have turned, or are turning, into bourgeois elements sucking the blood of the workers; how can they possibly realize fully the imperative need for socialist revolution? These people are the targets of the struggle, the targets of the revolution, and we must never rely on them in the socialist education movement. We can rely only on those cadres who are not hostile to the workers and are imbued with revolutionary spirit."

This directive of Chairman Mao's pointed out in good time that during the historical period of socilaism there is still the bureaucrat class, a class sharply antagonistic to the working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants. Therefore, he issued this call to struggle against the bureaucrat class. At the same time, Chairman Mao also published Some Questions on the Present Socialist Education Movement, pointing out incisively: "The main target of the present movement is those in authority within the Party taking the capitalist road." The great proletarian cultural revolution was a major struggle waged between the proletariat and the bureaucrat class, that is, the capitalist roaders, headed by Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao. The criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing and the movement to beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts are a continuation and deepening of the great cultural revolution. In this struggle, Chairman Mao put forth the scientific thesis that the bourgeoisie "is right in the Communist Party." This enables us to understand clearly that the bureaucrat class and the capitalist roaders are the bourgeoisie inside the Party. This is a scientific generalization and summing-up of the positive and negative experiences of the dictatorship of the proletariat since the formation of the Paris Commune, the experiences of the various line struggles after liberation in China. This is an important development of Marxism-Leninism.

First, Chairman Mao has incisively pointed out that under the dictatorship of the proletariat, there is the bureaucrat class sharply antagonistic to the working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants. He has raised the struggle against the bureaucrat class to the plane of the life-and-death struggle between the two major antagonistic classes.

The victory of the new democratic revolution and the start of the socialist revolution in China symbolized the virtual end of the reactionary rule of the old bureaucrats headed by the Chiang dynasty. This exemplified the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, an earth-shaking change that opened up vast vistas for the elimination of the bureaucrat class. However, it will take several hundred or even several thousand years of hard struggle before we can sweep this class into the garbage heap of history.

The entire historical period of transition from capitalism to communism is pervaded with class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. The dictatorship of the proletariat is a continuation of the class struggle in a new form. The triumphant proletariat controls and uses the state machinery to attack the bourgeoisie, while the bourgeoisie attempts desperately to recapture the political power it has lost. Their

initial attempts at restoration often rely on the imperialists' armed intervention and counter-revolutionary riots at home, so as to enable the old bureaucrats to resume their power. After these attempts have failed, they will step up their efforts to win over Party and government cadres of the working class, change the class character of the proletarian state, and try to recapture the fortress from within.

The rule of the bureaucrat class in the old China had a long history and the bureaucratic influences were deeply rooted. The remnant poison of bureaucracy and bureaucratism was all pervasive. By relying on this influence and spreading this remnant poison, the bourgeoisie has tried to encircle and erode the red political power. At the same time, the bourgeoisie inside the Party has also used bourgeois rights to protect the remnant forces of the old bureaucrats and nurture new bureaucrats. Our Party has waged struggles amidst the complex class relations and acute class struggles. The ranks of our Party have been infiltrated by dissidents sent by the class enemies, by degenerate elements who were recruited by our enemies, by bourgeois democrats who joined the revolution for the purpose of making profits, and by those who wished to take advantage of Party positions in pursuit of personal gain.

After the Communist Party came to power, these persons, having become officials or high officials in particular, soon turned into bureaucrats. They tried to meet the needs of the bourgeoisie both at home and abroad for subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat, rallying under the revisionist line and forming a bureaucratic class. Clearly, the emergence of the bureaucrat class under the dictatorship of the proletariat is a manifestation of the violent class struggle between the working class and the bourgeoisie, a manifestation of class distinctions which is the inevitable outcome of class struggle. The class enemies alleged that bureaucrats and bureaucratism are the products of the system of the proletarian state. This is a reactionary logic they use in an attempt to shift the blame onto the red political power. Lenin made an analysis of the shortcomings of the nascent Soviet political power and described the shortcomings by saying: "They may not be obnoxious but are at least lamentable." He pointed out, hitting the nail on the head: "These shortcomings originate from the old things." (Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. 4) Although the old and new bureaucrats emerge from different social forms, their roots are the same--the exploiting classes. One was an old poisonous weed grown on old soil, while the other is a new poisonous weed grown on the same old soil.

Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the bureaucrat class resembles a rice borer and infiltrates into the revolutionary ranks. This class is sharply antagonistic to the working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants and they constantly struggle against each other. In the "Circular" issued by the Party Central Committee on May 16, 1966, Chairman Mao pointed out: "They deny forthright that the history of mankind in the past several thousand years was a history of class struggle, disavowing class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. They deny forthright the proletarian revolution against the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. On the contrary, they are faithful lackeys of the bourgeoisie and the imperialists. Together with the bourgeoisie and the imperialists,

they cling to the bourgeois ideology of oppression and exploitation of the proletariat and to the capitalist system, opposing Marxist-Leninist ideology and the socialist system."

Chairman Mao summed up the sharply antagonistic class character between Marxism-Leninism on the one hand and the old Social Democratic Party and modern revisionism on the other. Likewise, this is also a summing-up of the sharply antagonistic relations between the bureaucrat class on the one hand and the working class together with the poor and lower-middle peasants on the other. This antagonistic relation also represents the fundamental antagonism in the ideological and political line.

The implementation of the revisionist ideological and political line characterizes the capitalist roaders in the Party, that is, the bureaucrat class. After the bankruptcy of the bourgeois theory of the state and the smashing of the bourgeois military-bureaucratic machinery, they clung to the bourgeois conception of the state in order to "revise" the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat. They alleged that "the state is the supreme ruler of society," "officials are the people's lawful superiors," and "high officials should enjoy high remunerations." They intended to use this bureaucrat philosophy to transform the proletarian state organs and civil service personnel. They dreamed of transforming the tool of the dictatorship of the proletariat into the tool of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat.

The working class and the poor and lower-middle peasants shed blood, gave their lives and overcame numerous difficulties in establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. Their aim is to break down the resistance of the exploiting classes, gradually win a complete victory in the world revolution, and build a new world in which there will be no imperialism, no capitalism and no system of exploitation. By delegating authority to the state cadres, they wished that the cadres would use power appropriately for the interests of their own class, so the cadres could wholeheartedly serve the vast majority of the people of China and of the world, and strive for the cause of communism. The struggle against the bureaucrat class is a continuation of the struggle against the bureaucrat class waged during the period of the democratic revolution. It is a life-and-death struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie for resolving the fundamental question for the revolution as to the political power is in the hands of which class. Throughout the period of transition, we can guarantee that the proletarian political power will never change its color if we wage an unswerving struggle against the bureaucrat class and defeat the bourgeoisie in the Party.

Second, Chairman Mao has penetratingly exposed the reactionary character of the bureaucrat class which is worse than the capitalists in sucking the blood of the workers. He has also pointed out that this class is the target of the struggle and of the revolution.

Both the old and new bureaucrats belong to the blood-sucking and parasitic class, and this is their common character. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the bureaucrat class is especially characterized by the fact that it behaves worse than the capitalists in sucking the blood of the workers.

They first strengthen and extend bourgeois rights, turn their authority into capital, then turn capital into authority. This is the basic means for the bureaucrat class sucking the blood of the workers during the socialist period. The development of capitalism generally goes through the process of turning authority into capital and turning capital into authority. The swelling of the capitalist force gives rise to the immediate need of a political regime that is able to protect and extend the blood-sucking crimes of the bourgeoisie. After the bourgeoisie's seizure of political power it is necessary to have political power to protect the development of capitalism. Therefore, the bourgeoisie has always adhered to these two principles:

(1) "How much money you have determines how much you are worth," and "the amount of your capital equals to the amount of your authority."

(2) "How much you are worth determines how much money you'll have," and "the amount of your authority equals to the amount of your capital."

In criticizng Struve's moral codes, Marx and Engels said: "The amount of your authority equals to the amount of your money, because the greater power you seize, the more you are worth." (Collected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. 3) These two principles have the same substance and complement each other. They vividly reflect the dialectical law of the mutual transformation of capital and authority into each other. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the bureaucrat class is increasingly fascinated by these principles and manipulated, under new circumstances, by this law of mutual transformation between capital and authority. The bureaucrat class's social and historical positions make it impossible for them to advance along the old bourgeois road for the development of capital and authority. Thus, they must first of all concentrate their efforts on usurping the power of the Party and state, altering the Party's basic line, and regarding the usurpation of power as the prerequisite to sucking the blood of the workers. They pass through these three phases--usurping power, altering the Party's line, and blood-sucking--in restoring capitalism.

During the socialist period, there are bourgeois rights of varying degrees all the way from the economic base to the superstructure. These rights are the lifeblood of the bureaucrat class and create the soil and conditions for its existence. In the process of strengthening and extending bourgeois rights, they transform authority into capital, then change capital into authority, and suck the blood of the workers. They invariably try to transform their authority into capital, turn their managerial and service functions into authority to oppress and exploit the people, and attempt to make super profits without investing capital. They'll do everything within their power to exclude the laboring people from management and planning work, seize the right to manage and use the means of production and the product of labor, thus nullifying the socialist public ownership system. In line with this change in the ownership system, they also change the socialist mode of distribution into distribution according to authority and capital. Under the pretext of "caring for the leading personnel" and "meeting the needs of work," they attempt to protect the interests of those high officials who practice revisionism. Doing things by fair means or foul, they turn public property into private property,

use public property for personal purposes, speculating and squandering the fruit of the people's labor. They lead a parasitic, decadent and corrupt life. After turning authority into capital, they transform capital into authority, extend the relations between commodity and money, convert commodities and money into capital. They buy over followers, woo the cadres, form factions for selfish ends, and expand their authority and positions. Under the rule of the bureaucrat class, the common laborers are subject not only to ruthless economic exploitation but also to supra-economic exploitation and enslavement. If this transformation of authority and capital into each other is allowed to spread unchecked, the consequence will be more serious than the outcome of the circulation of capital, that is, the "ceaseless circulation of capital for making profits." (Collected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. 23) This will lead to nationwide restoration of capitalism.

Furthermore, the bureaucrat class learned from the counter-revolutionary experiences of the reactionaries both at home and abroad, learned the tricks of all exploiting classes in history in exploiting the laboring people, combining frenzied plunder with hypocritical deception. In a society in which the exploiting classes play a dominant role, the relations of exploitation change and develop constantly as a result of the movement and changes of contradictions in society. Historical dialectics has revealed the law of things, asserting that in the wake of the development and changes of the economic forms in class society, the form of exploitation will gradually become concealed and the intensity of exploitation greater. This law applies not only to the entire process of the development of the relations of exploitation but also to the specific process of the relations of exploitation of every type.

Under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the capitalist's exploitation of the wage laborers is extremely intense. They wish they could get two sheets of hides by skinning a cow. "The blood-suckers will never let go as long as they can squeeze and grab every bit of flesh, every piece of sinew and every drop of blood from the laborers." (Collected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. 23) As a result of the development of the social productive forces, both the absolute and relative quantity of the capitalist's exploitation of the workers has greatly exceeded that of any exploitation in history. However, this exploitation is concealed under the theme of "exchange of equal value," so "labor as a whole looks like paid labor." (Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. 2) Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the bureaucrat class conceals its activities in sucking the blood of the workers by flaunting the socialist ensign of opposing exploitation. In the garb of "Communist Party members," "revolutionary cadres," "leaders of socialist enterprises," "old-brand revolutionaries," and even "officials who have rendered meritorious services," the bureaucrats can usually remain anonymous in running factories and farms, in possessing the means of production, and in exploiting wage laborers. The relations between the upper and lower levels and those between leading bodies and subordinate offices conceal the relations of exploitation and oppression. The bureaucrats can usually go through legitimate procedures in obtaining a part of the means of subsistence. There is no comparison between these bureaucrats and the exploiters in history as well as the bourgeoisie outside the Party. The intensity of exploitation can be subject to various restrictions as a result of the dominant position of the proletarian revolutionary line, the powerful strength of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the people's high level of consciousness.

However, it is easy for us to recognize the parasitic, decadent and avaricious character of the bureaucrat class. We must further recognize the high concentration of political and economic powers under the dictatorship of the proletariat. If the bureaucrat class succeeded in usurping power and in its restorationist conspiracies throughout the country, then it would continue to flaunt the banner of socialism, take advantage of this high concentration of political and economic powers and turn the democratic centralism of the proletariat into the fascist centralism of the bureaucrat class.

In controlling and manipulating the means of production and the product of labor, these bureaucrats will be far more powerful than any previous exploiting classes and their political representatives, than the slave owners and feudal rulers who claimed that "all land under the sun is my territory and all people on earth are my subjects," and than the bureaucrats and financiers in capitalist countries. In exploiing and plundering the laboring people, these bureaucrats will behave worse than the Chiang, Sung, Kung and Chen families in the Chiang family dynasty. In a similar vein, the present-day new tsars behave much worse than the old tsars.

Furthermore, the new and old bourgeoisie during the socialist period as a class is being eliminated but it will not reconcile itself to its extinction. Acting as the main body of this class, the capitalist roaders in the Party and the bureaucrat class, that is, the bourgeoisie inside the Party, are still in control of a part of the political and financial powers in the Party due to various reasons. They will use this power to wage a moribund struggle. They wish they could suck all the blood of the laboring people and grab all the social wealth at one stroke. If it is said that the bourgeoisie, during its reign, did undertake some tasks that were beneficial to social progress, then the bureaucrat class of today has become an obstacle to historical development and parasites in social institutions. This class gives expression to the moribund frenzy of the declining classes, to the avarice of the upstarts, and to the most insidious, decadent and reactionary character of the bureaucrats in history. They are bloodsuckers and behave worse than the capitalists. They are deadly enemies of the workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants, the most dangerous and vicious enemies of the dictatorship of the proletariat. We must regard them as the main target of the struggle and the principal target of the revolution, and overthrow and eventually eliminate them.

Third, Chairman Mao has put forth the wise thesis that management itself is a matter of socialist education. This has laid down the line in management for the proletarian state. He has called on the managerial staff to work, study and live with the workers so as to narrow the differences in the old division of labor. This is an important measure for sweeping away the soil that gives rise to the bureaucrat class.

In a class society, management always means management by a class. In a state of the exploiting classes, "the main concern is how to manage for the purpose of plunder and how to plunder by way of management." (Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. 3) The main concern of the proletarian state is how to go through management in order to continuously consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao's instruction that "management itself is a matter of

socialist education" has laid down the line in management for the proletarian state. To do a good job of management, we must take class struggle as the key link and continuously wage struggles against the bourgeoisie, especially the bourgeoisie in the Party. We must integrate management with the elimination of the bureaucrat class, with the abolition of classes, and with the transition to a communist society. We must continuously arm the masses with Marxism-Leninism, consciously restrict bourgeois rights, and narrow the differences in the old division of labor. We must delegate the leadership power of management to the Marxists and the immediate producers, and raise management to the plane of the struggle to combat and prevent revisionism. If we merely talk about management in production and in vocational techniques, then shall step onto the evil road of revisionism.

In history, division of labor is caused by the development of the productive forces, and class distinctions is the outcome of the division of labor. "The law of the division of labor is the basis of class distinctions." (Selected Works of Marx and Lenin, Vol. 3) For the sake of private interests, the bourgeoisie invariably does everything possible to widen and deepen the differences in the division of labor, thus giving rise to an abnormal and narrow character to the division of labor. This leads to sharp class antagonisms and increasingly reveals the urgent need for narrowing and abolishing the old division of labor and for establishing a new and revolutionary division of labor.

After the proletariat's seizure of political power and completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, the socialist relations of production basically plays a dominant role. This provides favorable conditions for the narrowing and abolition of the old division of labor. During the socialist period, all kinds of social relations are in a state of constant change and transition, resulting in the extinction of old things and the emergence of new things. This also applies to the question of the division of labor. Generally speaking, division of labor between physical and mental labor is no longer a relationship between ruler and ruled. In those enterprises and units which have implemented the "Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company," the managerial staff takes part in physical labor and the immediate producers participate in management. A new thing has emerged because there is no longer a distinction between high and low positions despite the differences in their division of labor. Many persons such as Chiao Yu-lu, Wang Kuo-fu and Men Ho have emerged. They are "officials" but do not behave like officials. They are just and selfless, serving loyally as servants of the people.

However, bourgeois rights persist in men's relations during the socialist period, and there still is relatively fixed division of labor between leading bodies and subordinate units, between the immediate producers and the managerial and technical staff. The traditional notions of this kind of division of labor are still deeply rooted. There are still acute struggles between the two ideologies and the two lines with regard to the question of the division of labor. Attempting to restore the old system, the old and new bureaucrat classes invariably try to continuously strengthen and extend bourgeois rights. Lin Piao despicably advocated inducements such as official

appointments, emoluments, favor, and described the old division of labor as absolute and inviolable. Liu Shao-ch'i and Teng Hsiao-p'ing also vigorously preached the "theory of the division of labor," alleging that "those who labor with their brains govern others and those who labor with their strength are governed by others." They described this as "a universal principle." In the areas, departments and units in which they had usurped the leadership power, they frenziedly pushed the revisionist line in management. They used the golden whip of "profit in command" and "material incentives," the steel whip of "controlling, checking and coercing," and advocated the old method of "running factories by experts." Through inducements and coercion, they tried to restore the management system of the exploiting classes.

Prior to the abolition of bourgeois rights and the elimination of the old division of labor, the differences between the managerial staff and the immediate producers will, under a given condition, develop into acute class struggle. This will lead to the emergence of a new bureaucrat class. "Within the scope of the division of labor, men's relations inevitably and unavoidably develop into class relations and will remain permanently as such class relations." (Collected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. 3) If the proletariat and its political power do not take revolutionary measures in good time to establish and improve the new relations between men, then the bureaucrat class will grow up. In accordance with the law of quantitative and qualitative change and when time is opportune, the role of the bureaucrat class will change from being the non-principal aspect of a contradiction to becoming its principal aspect. Then, this will change the color of the Party and the state.

Chairman Mao has suggested two important measures to implement the line that management itself is a matter of socialist education, to narrow and eliminate the old division of labor and to prevent the emergence of a new bureaucrat class. The first measure calls upon the managerial staff "to join the workers on the shop floor, work, study and live with them" and must not consider themselves as exceptional. This measure hits the nail on the head in dealing with the shortcomings of the old division of labor--the managerial staff's separation from physical labor and from the masses. The measure requiring the managerial staff to "work, study and live with the workers" is mainly aimed at strengthening the remolding of their world outlook. The core and basis of this measure is to "labor with the workers." Undertaking physical labor characterizes the laboring people and this is one of the fundamental conditions for the life of mankind. One of the common characteristics of the exploiting classes is their separation from physical labor, reaping where they have not sown. The root of all evils in the world is non-participation in physical labor. If the managerial staff is divorced from physical labor and from the masses, then the gap between them and the immediate producers will widen continuously until they will eventually be overthrown along with the bourgeoisie. As a popular saying goes, a knife will gather rust if it is not sharpened, meaning one will become revisionist if he does not take part in physical labor. To combat and prevent revisionism, Chairman Mao has repeatedly instructed the Party of the need to implement the system of cadre participation in collective productive labor. "This is one of the fundamentals under the socialist system, because it helps us overcome bureaucratism, prevent revisionism and dogmatism."

Another important measure is to have the managerial staff to "modestly learn one or more skills from the workers." To implement this measure, they must, first of all, take part in physical labor along with the workers. The laboring people taking part in the three great revolutionary movements form the main body in social practice, putting their true knowledge into practice. To learn skills, the managerial staff must put politics in command and continuously criticize the revisionist viewpoint of stressing techniques. They must criticize the idealist conception of history that "the highest are the wise and the lowest are the stupid," do away with bureaucratic airs, and learn from the immediate producers. They must take part in practical activities in order to make progress in an all-round way and become both red and expert. Otherwise, they may learn some skills but will serve as "a weapon for protecting the privileges of those who hold the purse and for protecting the rule of capital over the people." (Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. 3)

In adopting these two important measures put forth by Chairman Mao, we must regard them as a long-term system and implement it persistently and unconditionally. In this way we can strengthen the Party's leadership in production and vocational techniques, and overcome bureaucratic management. It is more important for us to implement the class line that we must "wholeheartedly rely on the working class." This will enable the managerial staff to thoroughly remold their world outlook and make a rupture with old traditions and concepts, so they can really identify themselves with the workers and peasants. They are "officials" but do not behave like officials, serving in the capacity of both managerial staff and ordinary workers. This will sweep away the soil that gives rise to the bureaucrat class and eventually enable us to make the biggest flying leap from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom in the history of mankind.

Chairman Mao has always attached importance to the struggle against bureaucratism. Back in the period of revolutionary wars, he instructed the Party that "the ugly evil of bureaucracy, which no comrade likes, must be thrown into the cesspit." (Pay Attention to Economic Work) In the socialist revolution period, Chairman Mao once again placed the struggle against bureaucratism on the plane of the life-and-death struggle between the two antagonistic classes, thus further pointing out the orientation for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing and the great struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts have struck a new and heavy blow at the bureaucrat class. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, our country's great cause of the dictatorship of the proletariat is bound to be consolidated and developed continuously in the course of struggle against the capitalist roaders and against the bureaucrat class, that is, the bourgeoisie inside the Party.

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Ideologically, Communists Must Not Remain in the Democratic Revolution Period

by

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During the socialist period, the main target of the revolution is the bourgeoisie "inside the Communist Party." The struggle against the bourgeoisie in the Party is the fundamental to the question of strengthening Party building. The Communist Party of China is a proletarian vanguard organization armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao, the overwhelming majority of our Party members persist in continuing the revolution, unite closely with the workers, peasants and soldiers, and lead the broad masses to wage a resolute struggle against the bourgeoisie.

However, a number of Party members do not want to go forward, some have become the bourgeoisie, some are changing, and some will change if they fail to maintain vigilance. Our repeated practice in class and line struggles shows that if one ideologically remains in the period of the bourgeois democratic revolution, then an acute contradiction is bound to take place between him and the Party's socialist revolution programs and line. It is exactly because Teng Hsiao-p'ing ideologically remains in the period of democratic revolution that he has degenerated into the arch unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party. Therefore, we should deepen the criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing and draw lessons from this teacher by negative example. This is of immense significance to us in consciously remolding our world outlook, strengthening Party building and combating and preventing revisionism.

Some Party members are accustomed to clinging to the ideas of the democratic revolution period when they view the class struggle during the socialist period. They fail to perceive the changing class relations and the principal contradiction in the socialist period. They fail to understand that there is a basic distinction between the two different revolutionary processes--the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution. Our country's new democratic revolution was a great revolution aimed at overthrowing the three principal enemies. However, it was a bourgeois revolution with its spearhead not aimed at capitalism as a whole and capitalist private property. Therefore, the victory of the democratic revolution was not the end of class struggle but a prelude to the final decisive battle fought in the history of mankind by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes.
The proletariat must carry on the socialist revolution against the bourgeoisie and must not stand still. It must go through the dictatorship of the proletariat, uproot all systems of exploitation, eliminate the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, transform the superstructure and all notions that conform with the old relations of production, and eventually realize communism.

On the eve of the change from the democratic revolution to the socialist revolution, Chairman Mao cautioned the Party in good time to guard against arrogance and against standing still. We must recognize that the democratic revolution was but a short prelude to the long drama of the Chinese revolution. After the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie became the principal contradiction, we must continue to carry out the socialist revolution which is greater and more arduous than previous revolutions.

However, Teng Hsiao-p'ing obdurately keeps to the stand of the bourgeois democrats, opposing Marxism-Leninism and resisting Chairman Mao's instructions. Following in the footsteps of Liu Shao-ch'i, he advocates the "consolidation of the new democratic order" in an attempt to halt the revolution and develop capitalism.

The bourgeois participation in the democratic revolution was for the purpose of seeking personal gain. In the past centuries, the Western bourgeois revolutions were all aimed at the founding of bourgeois republics. After the democratic revolution, the bourgeoisie attempted to oppose the proletariat's class struggle by misleading the people into believing that only by developing production could the welfare of the people be improved. They also attempted to deceive the masses by establishing and upholding the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The history of China has testified that this type of bourgeois republic will work. But Teng Hsiao-p'ing treasures it. He preaches that "existing class contradictions have been basically resolved," alleging that "the revolution has in the main been completed and our task in future is to engage in construction." He intends to lead China back to the old road of capitalism. His revisionist fallacies were criticized during the great cultural revolution. However, he refused to repent and, after resuming work, continued to preach the "white cat, black cat" trash and argued that "how can we talk about class struggle every day."

Teng Hsiao-p'ing's despicable revision of the scientific theses of socialism by rejecting the class struggle waged by the proletariat and advocating "building" sham socialism is a downright betrayal of the Party's programs and line. Why are some of our comrades susceptible to Teng Hsiao-p'ing's advocacy of the fallacy of the dying out of class struggle and the theory of productive forces? And why are they liable to make mistakes and implement the revisionist line? Their thinking has failed to catch up with the advance of the socialist revolution and their notion of class struggle has remained in the period of the democratic revolution. They have failed to perceive the changing class relations in socialist society. In particular, they have failed to recognize that the bourgeoisie is right in the Party and that the bourgeoisie inside the Party is the main force for restoring capitalism. Therefore, they have failed to grasp class struggle as the key link. During the great cultural revolution, most of these comrades were given assistance by the Party and the masses in restudying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. This enabled them to acquire a deeper understanding of the character, target, tasks, and the future of the socialist revolution. Thus, they were able to correct their mistakes and continue their advance along the revolutionary road. We shall never forget this profound lesson.

Chairman Mao has pointed out recently: "After the democratic revolution the workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants did not stand still, they want revolution. On the other hand, a number of Party members do not want to go forward; some have moved backward and opposed the revolution. Why? Because they have become high officials and want to protect their own

interests." Chairman Mao has hit the nail on the head in pointing out why Teng Hsiao-p'ing and other bourgeois elements inside the Party ideologically have stood still, moved backward and opposed the revolution. Those "high officials" implementing the revisionist line have extended bourgeois rights for the purpose of seeking personal gain and have degenerated into the bourgeoisie inside the Party. What they think and do are all aimed at protecting and extending the interests of this class, and therefore how can they go forward? Our attitude toward bourgeois rights can thus be used as an important hallmark for distinguishing those Party members who are continuing the revolution from those that are standing still and moving backward.

Marx described the bourgeois democratic revolution in Europe as "the triumph of bourgeois rights over privileges in the Middle Ages." (Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. 1) During the new democratic revolution period in China, we did not and could not touch the class distinctions and bourgeois rights that persisted in the economic and social aspects of the people of various classes and strata at the time. However, the socialist revolution must criticize and restrict bourgeois rights and create conditions for their eventual abolition. In the course of this revolution, if a comrade still considers bourgeois rights as sacred and inviolable, then it is clear that ideologically he remains in the period of the democratic revolution. If any comrade tries to seize and extend bourgeois rights, then he will be sharply antagonistic to the workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants, then he will be overthrown as a bourgeoisie by the workers and the poor andlower-middle peasants.

Teng Hsiao-p'ing alleged that "Our revolution must rely on material incentives." This statement reveals his ulterior motives for joining the revolution and his blind faith in bourgeois rights. He joined the revolution for the purpose of seeking personal gain. After becoming a high official, he has extended bourgeois rights and lorded it over the people, becoming a bourgeoisie inside the Party behaving worse than the capitalists.

Why has Teng Hsiao-p'ing been so frenzied in reversing the decisions of the great cultural revolution and in ranting about "restoration"? One important reason is that the great cultural revolution has infringed upon the interests of the revisionist "high officials." During the great cultural revolution, their power was seized by the proletariat, their counter-revolutionary revisionist line liquidated, and their exclusive privileges diversted. This was intolerable to them in the same way as the land reform movement was intolerable to the landlords. Therefore, they have bitterly resented the cultural revolution, waiting for a chance to hit back in a bid to regain their lost paradise.

Teng Hsiao-p'ing openly opposes Chairman Mao's instruction on the study of theory. He tries to protect the interests of the bourgeoisie inside the Party and extend bourgeois rights, alleging that "people should be paid more for doing more work, and how can we call this bourgeois rights"? He despicably tries to "evaluate the meritorious services" rendered by himself and by other revisionist "high officials." He alleged that "in the last several decades, we have exerted ourselves and so we deserve some rewards." He intends to defend their status as officials and behaving like overlords in a bid to restore capitalism. By making a big fanfare of this kind of ideas, they have identified themselves with the exploiting classes during the socialist period in sucking the blood of the workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants and reaping where they have not sown.

During the sociaist period, the vast majority of our veteran comrades have carried forward the glorious tradition of hard struggle. Some of them, after having been promoted to higher positions, have boasted about their meritorious deeds and relaxed vigilance. Thus they have been subjected to the pernicious influence of the ideas spread by Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing for extending bourgeois rights. Having been educated during the great cultural revolution, they swept away the filth of the idea of bourgeois rights and once again displayed the revolutionary spirit.. The broad masses ardently praised their progress, saying "the old style of work of the Eighth Route Army has been revived." We must bear in mind this revolutionary experience, consolidate and carry forward this fruitful gain, deepen the criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing and further criticize the bourgeois ideology. We must unite with the workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants, serving as proletarian vanguard fighters in waging struggles against the bourgeoisie in the Party.

A small number of Party members have ideologically remained in the period of the bourgeois democratic revolution. In the final analysis, this is a question of class stand and world outlook.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "China is a country with a very large petty bourgeoisie and our Party is surrounded by this enormous class. A great number of our Party members come from this class, and when they join the Party they inevitably drag in with them a petty-bourgeois tail, be it long or short." ("Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing") Those Party members of petty-bourgeois origin who have not been fundamentally reformed are likely to exhibit spontaneous tendencies toward capitalism because of their original class status and living conditions. They joined the revolution only for a life of ease and comfort. Therefore, after the democratic revolution, they maintained that "the ships and trains have reached their destinations." This explains why they do not want to go forward and even try to move backward and oppose the socialist revolution.

To cope with this situation, Chairman Mao has always attached importance to the ideological aspect of Party building. He stressed the need that "the proletarian should struggle against non-proletarian ideas." ("Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art") This was aimed at educating and transforming the petty-bourgeois elements in the Party, so they would change their stand, ideology and feelings and join the Party ideologically.

Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's correct line and in the course of the proletarian revolution, many elements of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois origin were tempered in the protracted revolutionary practice, accepting education and reeducation from the proletariat. They assiduously remolded their stand and world outlook. "They started to study conscientiously, studied Marxism, and learned from the proletariat in working resolutely. They have finally become social democrats and Marxists." (Collected Works of Lenin, Vol. 16)

However, a small number of people, after joining the proletarian revolutionary ranks, are unwilling to remold themselves and have even refused such remolding. Teng Hsiao-p'ing is one of them. Being of petty-bourgeois origin, decades of association with the Party failed to touch his deeply-ingrained bourgeois ideology. In the socialist revolution period, his bourgeois world outlook turned from bad to worse. This enabled him to become a bourgeois commander in opposing the proletariat. During the great cultural revolution, he attempted to slip through and stated: "I have been a Party member for

more than 40 years, but failure to remold my bourgeois world outlook has caused me to degenerate into an arch capitalist roader in the Party." After resuming work, however, he reversed this verdict and alleged that he had "nursed an inveterate hatred for the eight years of struggle." He said he would "risk my old life" in launching a frenzied counter-attack on the proletariat. Teng Hsiao-p'ing refused to remold himself and stood on the side opposite to the Party and the people. This lesson should be drawn by all Party members and revolutionary cadres who aspire to continue the revolution.

"In the course of building socialist society, everyone must remold himself." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People) Following the start of the movement to beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, Chairman Mao has once again laid emphasis on this question. Such remolding must be made not only by the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie but by the working class as well in the course of struggle. Otherwise, some of these people will degenerate. Our Party members must bear in mind Chairman Mao's great teachings, study conscientiously, and deepen the criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing. We must transform the objective and subjective world, advance against the winds and the waves and advance bravely along the road of continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

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